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CARDINAL ALBERONI: AN ITALIAN PRECURSOR OF PACIFISM AND INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION *

Nihil sub sole novum. Ecclesiastes, I, 10.

In a previous study ¹ I had occasion to state that the pacifist idea, as well as that of the juridical settlement of international conflicts, dates much farther back than is generally believed, and that it has had sincere advocates in all nations. And what is of even greater importance, international arbitration was practiced to a large extent, both in the Middle Ages and at the time of the Renaissance. I would now present to the enlightened readers of this Journal an Italian personage as one of these advocates, by stating however at the outset, that he was not the first among his compatriots, since four centuries before his time, the Venetian Marin Sanudo ² had consecrated his life to that idea, while the adherents of pacifism can even claim a Dante Alighieri among their number! For many reasons, however, which will be convincingly set forth in the course of these pages, Cardinal Alberoni is deserving of especial attention. The German Gerhoch, the Frenchmen Pierre Dubois and Eméric Crucé, the Czech king George Podiebrad, the Englishman W. Penn, the Portuguese Suarez, the Spaniard Vittoria, the Hollander H. Grotius, and many others, have in him a worthy associate, a fact which I hope will be made clear by the publication of his scheme, as an appendix hereof.†

I

There are few men who have played a conspicuous part in history whose importance has been discussed to the same extent as that of Cardinal Alberoni. He has been vilified and glorified with equal pas-

* Translated from the French by Dr. Theodore Henckels, of Washington, D. C.

¹ VESNITCH, *Deux Précurseurs français du Pacifisme et de l'Arbitrage International*, in *Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*, 1911.

² See: A. MAGNOCAVALLO, *Marin Sanudo il Vecchio ed il suo Progetto di Crociata*, Bergamo, 1901.

† Printed in this JOURNAL, p. 83.

sion. And while it may be said that the greatness of a statesman is correctly measured by the opposition with which he meets during his life, and even before posterity, the lack of sympathy, I should even say the lack of interest for this prelate-diplomatist is explainable on special grounds, as well as by reason of the circumstances in which he grew up. It is probably due to this reserve that the modern historians of pacifism, eager though they are to search through the past centuries for the precursors of this movement, have almost entirely failed to consider this curious personage. And his ideas, even as his entire life which was so feverish, ever on the alert and so long in years, should certainly have roused them to a special curiosity. Human psychology has in him a specimen worthy of profound study, offering a vast and promising field of work to him who would undertake it. Does it not seem strange to see this man, at the zenith of his power, almost universally traduced as the greatest disturber of the peace, when in fact he conceived the plan of the general pacification of the Christian world, he, the man of action par excellence, and at a time when this idea was the privilege of only those who were generally scoffed at, the discussion of whose ideas brought forth smiles, and who could consider themselves fortunate when they were not classed too far below "dreamers"?

Before proceeding to the consideration of the pacifist work of Cardinal Alberoni, it is necessary to make a general survey, concise as far as this is possible, of the personage and of the importance of his activities during the first half of the eighteenth century.

Jules Alberoni ³ was born at Piacenza, May 21, 1664. He was the son of poor parents who, as gardeners, had come to take up their abode

³ See: S. BERSANI, *Storia del cardinale Giulio Alberoni*, Piacenza, 1861; (in reference to this, see an extended study by AG. SAGREDO, in the *Archivio storico italiano*, vol. XVII, 1863, 2nd part, pp. 90-116); J. ROUSSET, *Histoire du Cardinal Alberoni*, etc., The Hague, 1719; MALDONADO-MACAÑEZ, *El Cardinal Alberoni*, in the *Revista de España*, 1884; LAVISSE and RAMBAUD, *Histoire générale*, etc., vol. VII, 1896; E. BOURGEOIS, *Letters intimes de J.-M. Alberoni*, Paris, 1892 (in reference: G. VALBERT, *Alberoni*, etc., in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, vol. CXV, 1893, pp. 662-673); ditto, *le Secret des Farnèse, Philippe V et la politique d'Alberoni*, 1911; G. HANOTAUX, *Recueil des Instructions aux Ambassadeurs de France*, vol. XVII (Rome, vol. II) Paris, 1911; C. CANTU, *Histoire universelle*, vol. XVI and XVII, Paris, 1868; A. PROFESSIONE, *Il Ministero in Spagna e il processo del card. Alberoni*, Turin, 1897; Comte DE

in this city. And if it had not been for the function the Christian church performed in the world, he would never have succeeded in bringing his talents to the fore. It was the church, or rather her servants in the Duchy of Parma, who soon became aware of his active and alert mind and made him follow a rigorous course of instruction in their seminaries, just as they had done before with his compatriot J. Mazarin. Further along in this study we will be led naturally to confront these two compatriots one with the other. Dealing with affairs relating to Spain, the author of MS. 25695 of the *Bibliothèque nationale* (pp. 204–206) indeed states: “Up to this point, we behold in Jules Alberoni another Jules Mazarin. Both were of humble birth: the former was the son of a Piacenza gardener; the father of the latter was a tenant of the Episcopal See of the same city; both started on their career in this bishopric; both attained to the dignity of prime minister of two of the principal European monarchies; and lastly both rose to the office of cardinal.” In another place it is asserted that “Alberoni would have been the Mazarin of Spain, had the end been like the beginning.”

Scholar and bell-ringer at the cathedral of Piacenza, and educated through charity at the Barnabite monastery in that city, Alberoni in 1702 became chaplain to the Count de Roncoveri, bishop of Borgo di San Donnino, and soon afterward, when he had learned a little French from the novelist Campistron, who had, so to say, strayed into these regions, and through his brilliant intellect won the good will and sympathy of the Duke de Vendôme, commander of French troops in Italy, the Duke de Parma made him canon and appointed him as his representative to the duke. At this moment, the course of his life changes and Alberoni's political career opens: for in 1706, Vendôme brought him to France, presented him to the king, obtained for him an annual allowance and then secured his services as secretary in his military expeditions to

BARRAL, *Études sur l'histoire diplomatique de l'Europe de 1648 à 1791*, Paris, 1880; A. BAUDRILLART, *Philippe V et la Cour de France*, Paris, 1890, five vols; E. DE HECKEREN, *Correspondance de Benoît XIV*, two vols., Paris, 1912; D'HAUSSONVILLE, *La Duchesse de Bourgogne*, etc., 4 vols., 1898–1908, vol. III; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1736; L. WIESENER, *Commencement d'Alberoni*, etc., Angers, 1892; C. MALAGOLA, *Il Card. Alberoni e la repubblica di San Marino*, Bologna, 1886; J. BUTLER, *Duke of Ormonde, the Jacobite attempt of 1717*, etc., Edinburgh, 1895; the *Archives du Ministère des Affaires étrangères*; Fonds Rome and Espagne.

the Netherlands and Spain, in the course of which he was sent on a mission to certain of the provinces for the purpose of consolidating the partisans of Philip V. After his protector had breathed his last in the arms of his dear abbé, Alberoni returned to France in 1712 to report to Louis XIV upon conditions in Spain. The following year we find him already in Madrid as *chargé d'affaires* of the Duke de Parma. Soon thereafter (1714), Queen Gabrielle of Savoy dies, and he avails himself of the new situation at the Spanish court to improve his fortune. His own activities in the preparation for the new marriage of Philip V to Élisabeth Farnèse, the daughter of his master and sovereign, are so well known that it is thought superfluous to refer to them at this time. His rivalries and strifes more than any other of his actions have been studied and described, possibly on account of their picturesqueness. Frédéric II declares in his *Mémoires* (Paris, 1866, vol. I, p. 26) that Cardinal Alberoni's temperament was very similar to that of the new queen, whom he portrays in these few masterly strokes: "Spartan haughtiness and English obstinacy, combined with Italian elegance and French vivacity; she proceeded audaciously to the accomplishment of her designs; nothing ever took her by surprise, nothing could stay her." Two persons of this same nature might meet; both might start on their journey at the same time; but they could not long continue in each other's company. The little Princess de Parma, after her sudden and unexpected elevation to the throne of Spain, wanted to rule as absolute mistress; and this prelate-diplomatist, who was climbing the ecclesiastical and social ladder with lightning rapidity, his elevation to the ranks of the nobility, his appointment to one of the most important Spanish bishoprics and his cardinal's hat annoyed her in the royal entourage, the more so because he was her compatriot, because he was indefatigable in his activities, inexhaustible in his intellectual resources and at the same time endowed with an indomitable will power. Europe, rather the Imperial and Franco-English diplomacy, energetically opposed Alberoni, the prime minister of Spain and distinguished Italian patriot; his *tendo Achillis* was, however, wounded first by the weak nature of Philip V and by the jealous vanity of the latter's young wife. To the reproach that she had appointed Alberoni, a foreigner, as head of her government, Élisabeth answered: "That is true; we appointed him, or to be more correct,

it was he who appointed himself and became our unbearable master." To this, the king added: "He's a beastly brute." After the departure of Alberoni, the queen could not help acknowledging she considered him "a brilliant man and a great minister." After he had been driven out of Spain, Cardinal Alberoni wrote to Cardinal de Polignac: "Spain was a corpse. I brought the corpse to life again. After my departure, it returned to its coffin." On another occasion, he bemoans the weakness of his Spanish master, saying that "caught between a prayer-stool and a woman, he became oblivious to the existence of the external world."

Modern history has already reached the turning-point, where it becomes evident justice must be rendered to this statesman. Like a quickening flash he touched Spain which had fallen into lethargy and was slowly succumbing to it. We present here the record of his activity as head of the government; it is the work of experts: Messrs. Lavissee and Rambaud (p. 42):

He revised the conditions on which the right to levy certain taxes was granted; formulated a new scale of customs, so as to reduce the amount of foreign importations; and on the other hand he granted free exportation of native wines; he examined the question of colonial contraband and repressed its traffic; he built a national printery and established a woollen manufacture which furnished the clothing for the soldiers; he appealed to the merchants of the entire nation in behalf of common honesty, and called Dutch workmen to Spain for the manufacture of woollen and fine linen goods. As a means to recruit officers for the navy he founded the Cadiz Naval Academy; he revived the artillery foundries and the manufacture of weapons at Barcelona and Malaga, launched fourteen new vessels, laid the keel for as many more and had even two built at Havana. He rebuilt the harbor of Cadiz, constructed the port of Ferral, fortified Barcelona which he wanted to become the Mediterranean rival of Toulon and ruler over that sea; in the Pyrenees he made Pampelune so strong that in 1719 the French dared not lay siege to it. . . .

When we consider that this immense amount of work was performed in very little time, and at a time when neither railroads nor the telegraph were at the disposal of governments, we come to judge with greater impartiality, if not with more sympathy, the things accomplished for Spain by Cardinal Alberoni, to whom Mgr. Bandrillart (*loc. cit.* II, p. 400) refuses the title of "a great statesman," in spite of the fact that he recognizes in him "a man of incontestable talent, of a bold spirit and

energetic character.”⁴ And all this internal work was simply the posterior evidence of the external policy of Spain as conceived by Alberoni, consisting in the proposition to regenerate that country in the eyes of Europe and of the world, and to recover for it the preponderating position which it had occupied in past centuries. We shall not explore the labyrinth of this bold diplomacy which men of greater authority have already exhaustively studied. We would venture, however, to remark that we find unjustified the reproaches which have become common-places and according to which he intended to make his own country, Italy, profit by this regeneration of Spain. Were not these tendencies, on the one hand, quite in harmony with human nature, and did he not, on the other hand, reconcile them with the highest interests of European peace? On the morning following his dismissal, he wrote to one of his friends, who was also his confidant: “It was the smallest sacrifice that could be made to insure the peace of Europe.” Before long he is driven from Spain, followed while on his way to Rome, seized, cast into prison and prosecuted. But he will know how to hold out against his detractors; he will know how to fight and defend himself with the weapons of the time, if necessary; but howsoever he fight, he will fight successfully. His enemies went so far as to say that he had been the paramour of Queen Élisabeth. To disprove this accusation, it would be sufficient for him to point to his portrait,⁵ and to the haughtiness of his young sovereign. But the accusation of having sought to enrich himself by the misuse of public funds wounded him to the quick. Later on in his life he refutes this charge with vigor.⁶ Nearly ten years later (July 4, 1727), Maréchal

⁴ One of his contemporaries, L. FERRARI, *Delle Notizie storiche della lega fra l'Imperatore Carlo VI e la Repubblica di Venezia*, etc., Venice, 1723 (pp. 259-260), characterizes him as follows: “A keen man, quick in his work, fertile in resources and one to whom nothing seems difficult: a man who when silent, yet speaks, and speaking he enchants, and so wonderfully. * * * ” A German, *Universal-Lexicon*, Suppl. I, p. 903, speaks of him in 1751 as a “perfect politician and great statesman.”

⁵ One of his first biographers belittles him in the following terms: “The cardinal is of small stature; rather too corpulent than too thin; his face is not at all attractive; it is too broad, because his head is too large.” Of his eyes alone he speaks well.

⁶ “Those who are acquainted with my career,” he writes about the year 1735, “are honest enough to certify that I never made wealth my idol; and on this point I appeal to my own conscience. If I were a man who delights in the love of lucre, there are few who have had greater opportunity to acquire riches. I might say that I had

de Villars, one of the few men who at that time spoke favorably of the ability of the cardinal, writes in his *Mémoires* (vol. V, p. 138) of a "current rumor about the journey of Cardinal Alberoni to Madrid," adding that this rumor lacks confirmation,—a fact which proves the continued interest which the Court of Versailles took in him. Only once thereafter, when, as Papal legate to Romagna, he had temporarily united the Republic of San Marino with the States of the Church, the people as a whole took an especial interest in him.

He was a source of even greater interest to diplomatists. As an instance, we reproduce here words written on February 18, 1736 by the Duke de Saint-Aignan, who was at Rome at that time. These words are quoted from a report the duke had transmitted to his government, a report which all modern aspirants to the diplomatic career ought to read: the duke does not enter into details, having fully delineated him in his official dispatches forwarded from Madrid, where during four years he had resided as ambassador. He writes:

The great rôle which he has played, the independence which his dis-favors compelled him to assume, the consequent relations into which he entered with the zealots, some external traits such as contempt for pomp, a kind of personal unreservedness and a keen interest in all matters concerning public welfare made him a rather conspicuous personage at that court; and many there were who thought that luck, which had done so much for him, was holding him in reserve for further government service. But his conduct in the Romagna legation, which he accepted only because he would not have it said that he had never served the Holy See, has done him a harm from which he will find it difficult to recover, so that what he had imagined would pave his way to the Pontificate may perhaps prove the greatest obstacle to his ambition. And in truth, beside the fact that the public had criticized his ready willingness to give up, for an office of this nature, the retired life of a philosopher, which he had made up his mind to live on his estate of Castel-Romano, saying that he would either have to rule a world or cultivate a cabbage-patch; and far from trying to prove himself worthy

become his treasurer when the Duke de Vendôme honored me with his confidence. Frequently he teased me because of my contempt for money, stating that he believed I would never take great pains to discover the philosopher's stone. My station in Spain offered me opportunities to acquire immense wealth. Yet I never spent more than was necessary to keep up my position as minister. I did not allow a single one of my relatives to come near me." And still later, in 1742, he adds that he will be "in history, an example of strange calumnies and persecutions."

of the high regard in which he was held, he discredited himself by his oddities, by his too rigid sternness and his lack of consideration for the nobility, which did not bring him popular favor; by his unwarranted haughtiness; and withal, he was not entirely proof against unfounded notions of fear. Again, the depotism which he intended to exercise, the direct correspondence which he desired to carry on with the Pope, his treatise on taxes, so contrary to all accepted principles, in the writing of which he had been misled by the Imperials, have set the Holy Father, the Ministers and the Sacred College so against his administration that he would have been dismissed forthwith, if they had not feared the liberty which he assumes in speaking, showing sovereign contempt for the most of his confrères, imagining that for ability there is none to compare with him. He said frequently to His Holiness that all this was merely an open synagogue. And it is in order to guard against this kind of liberties that it was decided to keep him away from here; but, in spite of all I have just stated, and without feeling in the least way offended by the reputation which he thought he enjoyed, I owe it to him to say that I have only praise for the sentiments which he entertains for France as a whole, as well as for myself personally, ever since I came to Rome; but I am not equally satisfied with his manner toward the King of the Two-Sicilies, whom he failed to greet on his passage near this city, nor with his way of thinking of the King of Sardinia, whom I might suspect of influencing the misunderstanding between the courts of Madrid and Turin which we have never been able to remove. It has been said that the Cardinal had a representative in Vienna at the time of the signing of our Preliminaries; but I am not sufficiently informed of this and can only speak of it as a matter which ought to be carefully looked into.

In the MEMOIR TO SERVE AS INSTRUCTION FOR THE ARCHBISHOP OF BOURGES, . . . *going as ambassador extraordinary of His Majesty to Our Holy Father the Pope, 1745*, we read that the ambassador must apply to Cardinal Alberoni for information, "that one may depend as much upon the reliability of his information after he has promised to give it as upon his skill to secure reliable information." Cardinal de Rohan, who in his turn is going to Rome as ambassador, is directed to ask the opinion of Cardinal Alberoni. It will not be without interest to quote still another passage taken from a letter of Benoît XIV, dated March 29, 1743 to Cardinal de Tencin:

On the evidently false supposition that Cardinal Alberoni had recruited men for the Spaniards against the Austrians in the last action of Campo Santo, it is proposed, without informing him of this report and without giving him the opportunity to be heard, to recall him from his

legation. They are threatening to ravage the country, to seize the person of this cardinal and to sack the college which he built at Piacenza. My dear Cardinal, can there be anything more horrible? We are thinking of summoning the cardinal to Rome, so that he may give an account of himself to the Pope, before whom he stands accused and who is his superior; but leaving him his legation nevertheless. We do not know whether he is willing to come, or if willing, whether he can come, for he has been ill several months.

The cardinal is advancing in years, and reports concerning his health become more and more frequent in the correspondence. Here is one such reference, taken from a letter of the same Pope, dated March 8, 1752: "The Milan messenger has brought us bad news about Cardinal Alberoni, who will probably recover without the assistance of any doctor and without poultices, by eating salt-pork and sausages." But shortly afterward he died, on June 26 of the same year, in his native city which, during his life-time, he endowed with a college for preparing young men for the priesthood, and to which he bequeathed the major part of his fortune. This "unworthy priest and dangerous minister" in the opinion of some; this "base valet and dregs of the people, buffoon, charlatan" according to Saint-Simon, this "meddlesome individual" and "second-rate statesman" as Valbert characterizes him, is, in the judgment of Voltaire, the "most powerful genius which has governed Spain long enough to bring her glory, and not long enough for the greatness of that State." Lord Stanhope passed judgment upon him in these terms: "If Spain could go on in this way and succeed as well in all the other enterprises he means to carry out, there will be no Power can oppose her." In a NOTICE SUR LE RÈGNE DE PHILIPPE V ET SUR LE MINISTÈRE DU CARDINAL ALBERONI, written soon after his death, we find the following: "Alberoni died in 1752, leaving the reputation of a politician and minister as enterprising and ambitious as Cardinal Richelieu; supple and skillful as Mazarin. But, possessed of their great qualities, he also had their shortcomings. His genius was vast, his projects were immense, but fortune was against him." And this moral portrait comes perhaps nearest to the original. Alberoni, moreover, has written a description of himself, in a letter of 1742, when he was already advanced in years. He says: "The more difficulties a man of spirit encounters in an enterprise, the greater must be the courage, perseverance and obstinacy with

which he shall pursue it; he must never give it up, except when all hope of carrying it out has vanished. *In the end, Fortune still honors men of courage.*"

II

Historians and publicists who have been interested in the political views of Cardinal Alberoni have concerned themselves, as a rule, with the book published at Lausanne in 1753, entitled *TESTAMENT POLITIQUE DU CARDINAL JULES ALBERONI, recueilli de divers mémoires, lettres et entretiens de Son Éminence par Monsignor A. M.; translated by C. de R. B. M.* But, for a long time we have known that this is a spurious work.⁷

Much more interesting, according to authentic probability, is the brochure which was simultaneously published in German and English in 1736, during the life-time of the Cardinal, bearing this title: *DES WELTBERÜHMTE CARDINALS ALBERONI VORSCHLAG DAS TÜRKISCHE REICH UNTER DER CHRISTLICHEN POTENTATEN BOTMÄSSIGKEIT ZU BRINGEN, Samt der Art und Weise wie dasselbe nach der Ueberwindung unter sie zu Vertheilen, etc., etc., Gedruckt im Jahre, 1736.* The English title of the book is even fuller and represents better both the content and the ideas therein expounded. It is as follows: *CARDINAL ALBERONI'S SCHEME FOR REDUCING THE TURKISH EMPIRE TO THE OBEDIENCE OF CHRISTIAN PRINCES, Together with a scheme of a perpetual diet for establishing the public tranquility * * * London, Printed for J. Torbuck in*

⁷ Writers of that time did not question the authenticity of this *TESTAMENT POLITIQUE*. The *Göttingische Anzeigen von Gelehrten Sachen* of June 2, 1753 (pp. 610-613) calls attention to the book and discusses it earnestly. In the *DIZIONARIO DI OPERE ANONIME E PSEUDONIME DI SCRITTORI ITALIANI* (Milan, 1859, vol. III, p. 141) we read that the manuscript was bought in Madrid and thence brought to Lausanne! It is also referred to in the *DICIONNAIRE DES OUVRAGES ANONYMES ET PSEUDONYMES* (Paris, vol. III, p. 312). And yet it is the work of two French publicists, Duray de Morsant (1717-1795) and Maubert de Gouveste (1721-1767), two of the many intellectual adventurers who thrived at that time. Maubert de Gouveste also wrote *HISTOIRE POLITIQUE DU SIÈCLE* during his sojourn in England, and in turn became chief editor of the *Journal Officiel* in Brussels (1759) and director of an itinerant French theatrical troop on its passage through Wurtemberg. He left a large number of works. Writing about this *Testament Politique*, Sabatier says: "It is impossible to read it, and not be impressed by the depth of thought, the elegance of reflection and the precision of reasoning!"

Clarc-Court, Drury Lane, and sold at the Pamphlet-Shops at the Royal Exchange, Temple-Bar and Charing-Cross, 1736. Two editions of this English publication were printed in the same year. In addition, both the German and English editions state that they are translations from the Italian: the former, that the original is in the hands of a minister who belongs to the nobility, while the latter is more definite; for it states that the original manuscript is in the possession of the Prince de Torella, Sicilian ambassador to the French court. And it is true that a Sicilian ambassador of that name had about this time resided for about two years in Paris. After a search of more than ten years, we have at last succeeded in finding an Italian manuscript of this work. It is preserved in the *Museo Civico Correr*, in Venice (Codice Correr 1206/2643), and is entitled: PROGETTO DEL CARDINALE ALBERONI, *per ridurre l'Impero Turchesco alla Obediepza dei Principi Cristiani, e per dividere tra di essi la conquista del Medesimo*.⁸ The last part of the manuscript contains a *Progetto di una Dieta Perpetua*.

But as early as 1735, the *Mercure historique et politique*, The Hague (vol. XCIX, pp. 467-476), published an extended Paris correspondence for October of the same year, in which we find printed in full a SYSTÈME DE PACIFICATION GÉNÉRALE, DANS LA PRÉSENTE CONJONCTURE, *translated from the Italian*, preceded by these few lines:

⁸ My friend, professor G. Dalla Santa, Assistant Director of the Archives of Venice, informed me that the manuscript came from a collection brought together by the Venetian senator Theodor Carrer, born at Venice, December 12, 1750 and dying there in 1830, whose mother, Marie-Anne Pettagno, of the princely family di Trebisaccia, had been a Neapolitan, a fact which, to a certain extent, associates the manuscript with the princely de Torella family. The Venice manuscript is doubtless a copy. I have taken great pains to find the original (supposing that it was still in existence); but so far these efforts have not been rewarded. The distinguished director of the State Archives of Naples, Professor Casanova, has upon my request, devoted himself actively to this task, and we have not given up hope of finding some day the final clue to this point.

The larger portion of this manuscript was published in Venice (Stabil. typ., di P. Naratovich, 1806, 8°-32), by a Mr. Tipaldo Foresti, on the occasion of the marriage of a friend, and entitled: PER LE AUSPICANTISSIME NOZZE DEL SIGNOR GIULIO SQUETAROLI COLLA SIGN^a GIUSEPPINA SARTORI. This accounts for the fact that public libraries, even in Italy, are uninformed concerning this publication. Still, in his day Casati called attention to it in the *Revue des Questions Historiques* (1869, vol. VI, p. 582).

* * * Everyone is lending a hand in the building of the grand structure (Peace), and as a result we have several projects of pacification. This one is readable both by reason of the form which the author gives to the system he sets forth, and because of the position he occupied and which gives him rank among the ministers and the greatest politicians (in a note: "l'émminentissime Cardinal Alberoni"). We are all the more pleased to give here a translation of it, because it merely represents a project as such, and because throughout the author shows due regard for the Powers to which he refers.

Before taking up the real subject of our study, which is the very project contained in the English and German editions and in the Italian manuscript, it may be profitable and interesting to reproduce right now this "Système de Pacification." This exposition seems to us the more necessary because it is our impression that we are dealing with two distinct manuscripts; and it is quite possible that both go back to the same source, provided they are of different dates.⁹

The author of the project as given in this correspondence begins thus: To be just, a war must aim at correcting wrongs which it is found can not be remedied except by a resort to arms; and such a war must lead to the establishment of a peace whose duration shall be made permanent by the help of a number of Powers whose interests shall be served by it. The war which has presently broken out between the Imperial and Bourbon families is of such an extraordinary nature that it encompasses the two extremities of Europe from the north to the south; it brings before our eyes interests hitherto unsuspected; and there is not a state in Christian Europe but is more or less affected by it. It has roused so many pretensions of every kind and description that it would seem impracticable to conciliate them, if divine Providence does not intervene in some special manner. Without this divine favor, we are on the eve of beholding Europe involved in a general conflagration whose consequences seem clear enough to make us tremble, and the end of which the human mind is unable to forecast. In order that there might be hope for reconciliation, these two great families should lay aside their old pretensions in the interest of public welfare and Christianity. A

⁹ Cantu and, after him, Bersani (pp. 385-386) believe that these projects were written about 1724. The latter adds: "An alliance between all the princes and the Italian republics was subsequently proposed for the purpose of driving all foreigners from Italy. But I know nothing as to that, except that some writer may by way of diversion have sought to hold up to ridicule these ideas of Alberoni as vaporings and chimeras of a demented and unhealthy mind." These two authors are mistaken: the reader will readily judge for himself in the course of this study that the main project at least could not have been written before 1730.

definite basis must be found on which this reconciliation can be worked out, so that through their agreement a settlement of all other pretensions may be reached in conformity with equity and public weal.

Since there is little likelihood of curing unusual diseases by ordinary remedies, and the very foundations of Europe have been shaken in the present conjuncture, it seems necessary to devise a system likely to strengthen them. It would seem to be for the absolute interest of whole Christian Europe that the attention of the emperors of Germany should be directed solely to the defense of their territory against the power of the Ottoman Empire, and to seek to extend their dominions in that direction only. This will give them a wide enough field for action in all that is praiseworthy and interesting in ambition. Their alliances with the Russian Empire and Poland, which would render them terrible to the remainder of Christianity, if they were to enforce their pretensions on this side, might be profitably exploited on the other side. They would have the means to induce the Princes of the Empire to combine all their forces for the purpose of conquering Turkish territory by rewarding these Princes with some of the domains belonging to the House of Austria, in Germany, as they were making progress toward the Orient. All the other Powers of Christianity, being certain that they need no longer fear encroachment by the emperors upon their rights, would assist them in their efforts to extend their dominions at the expense of the infidels. In such action, each would find his interest and security, it being true that the different possessions heretofore occupied by the House of Austria in various quarters have been the main cause of the troubles in Europe.

The system, which begins here, seems evidently to have been that of Emperor Charles the Fifth, when, with the bestowal of the Imperial Crown upon him, he restricted the authority of his brother Ferdinand to the hereditary states of the House of Austria in Germany, that is, to the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, although at that time these did not extend as far as at present. Providence seems to have prompted the birth of an occasion that would revive this system. The fact that the Emperor leaves only a female and contested succession should make him dread the prospect of leaving his states in dispute, in case he should unfortunately die in the tumult into which the war has brought the affairs of Europe: it would be reasonable of him, in regard to his elder daughter, intended to be married to the Duke de Lorraine, if he should conclude to content himself with the bequest which Charles the Fifth made to Emperor Ferdinand; and that, as to his younger daughter, he should give her in marriage to Don Carlos, by acknowledging him as King of Naples and of Sicily. It would be expedient to induce the Emperor to renounce all his pretensions to Italy, and to enact a law to the effect that the two princesses, his daughters, or their children may never inherit from each other.

Italy has for centuries been a constant source of trouble between the

Christian Princes, and an evident occasion for the infidels to push their conquests in Europe. History shows that the insistence with which the emperors pressed their Italian pretensions has on various occasions contributed to the aggrandizement of the Ottomans. It was for the purpose of putting an end to the fatal consequences of these pretensions that Charles the Fifth left not a foot of ground to his brother Ferdinand in Italy, in conferring the Imperial dignity upon him. The same reasons still prevail; and it seems expedient for the peace of Europe to enact a statute to the effect that no foreign Power may ever possess a state in Italy; that the various principalities composing Italy should form a government modelled after the Germanic body, with a General Diet, to decide upon all matters concerning the common weal; that every right of investiture and of foreign dependence should be abolished; and that the Italic body, in all matters coming within its sphere of competency, should be clothed with the same authority of decision as that possessed by the Germanic body.

Italian security established under this form of government would require the guaranty of the contracting Powers: it would also require very close relations with the Helvetic body for guarding the Alpine barriers. The barrier on the side of France concerns of course, the King of Sardinia; and the possession of the Duchy of Milan would tend to increase both his vigilance and his power. The fortress of Tortone should, however, be taken from him, so that it might serve as a defense for the Duchy of Parma. The barrier on the side of Germany would have to be guarded by the Venetians and the Princes whose states are bordering on the Lower-Pô, and on whom it would devolve, at common expense to guard every entrance and to keep a strong Swiss garrison in Mantua. The Pope, the King of the Two Sicilies and the other maritime sovereigns, would all be taxed so that they might have a strong fleet, ever ready to watch over the defense of Italy from the sea with the help of the Grand-Master of Malta: and all these things would come to pass in consequence of the resolutions which the General Diet would pass in regard to these matters. According to these arrangements it seems that Italy would not only enjoy complete tranquility, but also be able to contribute by her united forces to the humiliation of the infidels. Complete freedom of her commerce would strengthen the guaranty which the Christian Powers had engaged to insure to her.

By the constitution, inviolably established to exclude every foreign sovereignty from the possession of any state in Italy, it would follow, that if the King of the Two Sicilies should die childless, or be called to the throne of Spain, the crown which he wears would be declared transferred to his brother Don Philippe, to whom, for greater certainty, there may be granted even now a domain in Italy. The number of principalities of which the Italic body is to be composed shall be determined, and it shall be agreed upon that if it so happened that any one of them should leave a female succession, it shall then be the duty of the

General Diet to exercise guardianship over it, and it shall also be agreed upon that this heiress may not marry except with the approval of the Diet. If it should happen that some one principality had no legitimate heir, the Diet shall have the right to choose a successor by a majority of votes, possessed of the qualities required to fill the vacancy in the Italic body, which shall always in regard to the number of states included therein, be kept on the basis that shall presently be determined.

Nothing better proves the intention of Charles the Fifth to enlist his brother in the defense of Europe against the infidels than the fact that he separated the Netherlands from his dominion. He had indeed foreseen the inevitable difficulties and diversions which the possession of this state would cause him; he preferred to leave its administration to Spain, in spite of the inconveniences of distance. For the same reasons it seems expedient to separate all the Emperor's possessions in the Netherlands and in the Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg, from the domain granted to his elder daughter, and to bestow them upon a prince who would like nothing better than to become closely united with the States-General, to watch over their mutual preservation. This principality seems suited to the Elector of Bavaria; it would satisfy all the pretensions he presses against the Austrian succession, and compel him to lend a strong hand to the Emperor against the infidels. This prince, backed by all the power of the Empire and Great Britain, would strengthen Bavaria against the suspicions which the proximity of France might rouse.

The same reasons that make it convenient to remove the Emperor from any possession on this side of the Rhine, apply equally to Lorraine, supposing the Emperor should designate the Duke of Lorraine as his successor. This state, surrounded by those of the King of France, would be a perpetual source of trouble and worry. To remedy this condition and to properly indemnify France for the expenses she may have incurred to insure to the Emperor a permanent and solid peace, it would seem convenient for the peace of Europe to transfer this state absolutely to France, and to find adequate compensation in Italy for the House of Lorraine, to the exclusion of a duke of Lorraine who is Emperor. It seems that the Duchy of Parma might be adequate to remove this house from the Imperial branch, and also in order that, in conjunction with the Pope and the other powers of the Italic body, the balance might be maintained between the Kings of Naples and of Sardinia.

It would seem that, through the execution of this system, all the old sources of quarrels between the Houses of Austria and Bourbon might be entirely removed. Nothing would prevent them from acting concertedly in order to drive the infidels out of Christendom, to settle all differences pending between their neighbors, to render justice to whom it is due and to establish commerce on a footing of equality which encourages industry and honesty among all nations. Thus, enjoying peaceful possession of their legitimate states the Christians will then

think of relieving their subjects, harassed by wars or by apprehensions of wars which follow conditions of uncertainty and jealousy. They will think of exploiting those ample colonies which America offers to them and which deserve more attention than European quarrels have made possible to give to them up to the present. They will have a beautiful open field, within which to exercise their power and their prowess against the infidels, and to set their conscience at peace for the shedding of Christian blood of which the indecision of their pretensions has been reponsible in the course of the latter centuries.

The real project of Cardinal Alberoni, which we shall examine in the course of this study, differs in some parts from the exposition given in this correspondence. And the question arises quite naturally: did the correspondent of the *Mercure historique et politique* have before him a project of Cardinal Alberoni other than the one whose authenticity we have no reason to suspect? This is possible and even probable in view of the fact that the best biographers of the Cardinal maintain that he thought much about the organization of Italy, of which, however, there are hardly any traces in the main project. Or, did he know of the real project of the cardinal only from hear-say, and as for the rest gave free rein to his imagination? However that may be, we thought it interesting to confront these two compositions with each other.

One thing is absolutely certain: Cardinal Alberoni was always at heart a convinced pacifist, in spite of the compelling necessities that made him wage wars. "War is a chastisement of God!" he writes, February 13, 1719; and in his letters he frequently expresses regret on account of the instability of conditions in Europe and the absence of a proper system.¹⁰ On October 24, 1718 he already referred to the Netherlands as the country destined to contribute the most to the general pacification of Europe, and adds at the same time that the Archduke of Austria "will in time become extremely fateful to the rights and liberties

¹⁰ Among modern historians, Mr. E. Bourgeois is undoubtedly the one who has penetrated deepest into the soul of Cardinal Alberoni; for he has, as we know, successfully studied him for many years. Recently, while engaged in the preparation of this study, I asked him some questions in answer to which he said among other things: "I quite agree with you that Alberoni, who has been represented as a mischief-maker, was rather a pacifist, or at least a peaceful man, in the sense that, as a son of that Italy which in the eighteenth century was the appointed arena for the wars of Germany and France, of the Habsburg and Bourbon houses, he deplored the ravaged fields, the crops which were destroyed, and the ruined peasants."

of the people." The peace which he found on leaving Spain, and the meditations to which he could surrender himself, enabled him to follow that same path which had been traced for him on the day when he became a priest. Has not the Christian religion always preached love between nations as well as between individuals, and have not the Popes been the apostles of international peace, at least in the Christian world, through all the centuries? Was not Leo XIII the faithful follower of these traditions, when on December 31, 1885, he wrote to Prince Bismarck that arbitration in international conflicts was "the function most in harmony with the nature and spirit of the Roman pontificate"?

III

While still an abbot, and as secretary and trusted man of the Duke de Vendôme, Alberoni spent some time at the military camps of his master and protector. He had acquired a familiarity with the French language to the extent that from that time he wrote in that language, even to some of his Italian friends. There is every reason to believe that he found in the duke's library, and certainly among the books of his officers, and that he read the book which the great Captain Henry de Rohan had written and dedicated to Cardinal Richelieu, published the first time in 1639 under the title: *DE L'INTEREST DES PRINCES ET ETATS DE LA CHRESTIENTÉ*, Paris, in -8°, a work which is the "fruit of long labor" and of earnest meditation, and was followed by a series of publications to which it served as a model and of which it was the first,¹¹ both by

¹¹ We have thus, for instance: *INTÉRÊTS ET MAXIMES DES PRINCES ET DES ÉTATS SOUVERAINS*, printed at Cologne by Jean du Païs, 1666 (16°, 248) whose authorship is erroneously attributed to the Duke de Rohan. This is made clear through the publication, in the same year and by the same anonymous author, of *MAXIMES DES PRINCES ET ÉTATS SOUVERAINS* (Cologne, 1666, 16°, 245). "M. de Rohan," we read in the preface to this volume, "who was an excellent captain and one of the great politicians of his time * * * has written on this subject and has succeeded very well, but he is very concise and writes of only a few Christian Princes, whilst the author of this book writes of all the important Sovereigns of Christianity and of all Infidel Potentates whose interests are the same, or because of their situation and their proximity or for some other consideration. It is true that he has followed in the traces of M. de Rohan, followed his plan and his thoughts, and availed himself of his divisions and expressions in most of the matters of which both have treated * * * Christians are divided into three different parties (p. 207), Catholics, Greeks and

reason of the strong arguments and the reputation of the author. It is even probable that these two circles had followed the traditions of *La Noue*, and of his DISCOURS SUR LES TURCS, in which he had addressed a fervent appeal for the reconciliation of Christian Europe against the Turks. Was not the *Télémaque* of Fénelon the favorite book of that whole generation? I have refrained from referring to the writings of Pierre Dubois and Éméric Crucé, because I am persuaded that Alberoni had drawn no direct inspiration from them. But it would most likely surprise the reader if we should not at this time refer to the work of the Abbé de Saint-Pierre, who, in the judgment of many, exerted some influence upon the thinkers of that time, and who we might suppose had also contributed to the determination of Alberoni to write his project.

There is nothing less founded in fact than that supposition. Just a few characteristic aspects of the work of the Abbé de Saint-Pierre will enlighten us forthwith. In the first place, what about the beginning of this work? In the course of the winter of 1706, the Abbé de Saint-Pierre was traveling in Lower Normandy, his native land, — and, in passing, we may add that it is also the country of Dubois, and very probably of Crucé as well,—his chaise upset, was broken and sunk into the mud so that he was left “in the mud and the rain till well along into the night.” This incident led to his *Mémoire sur la réparation des chemins* (January, 1708), and on drawing to the close of the work, he stopped suddenly, astounded. “I was putting the finishing touches to this memoir,” he says, “when there presented itself to my mind the project of a structure whose beauty struck me with wonder. For a fortnight it has taxed all my attention. I feel the more inclined to look into it carefully, because the more I

Protestants. These three do not love each other. * * * So many divisions, maintaining incessant war in Christianity, give confidence to the Turk that he will not be pushed from that quarter. * * * Those Christian Princes who are at war must conclude peace and combine their forces against that common enemy,” the Turk.—See also, Aug. Langel, HENRY DE ROHAN, SON RÔLE POLITIQUE ET MILITAIRE SOUS LOUIS XIII, Paris, 1889. To be added NOUVEAUX INTÉRÊTS DES PRINCES DE L'EUROPE où l'on traite des maximes qu'ils doivent observer pour se maintenir dans leurs États et pour empêcher qu'il ne se forme une monarchie universelle. Cologne, 1685, 12°, 420. This work was reprinted in 1688, in 1690 and in 1712, showing the great interest people took in these questions.

am thinking of it . . . the more I find it advantageous for the sovereigns. I mean the establishment of permanent arbitration among themselves so as to settle their future differences without resorting to war and also to maintain perpetual relations between all the nations. * * * It is filled with this hope that with zeal and joy I am giving myself to the greatest enterprise that may dawn upon the human mind. I do not know whither I shall go; but I remember the saying of Socrates: that we go far when we have the courage to walk for a long time and over the same road."

In his PROJECT FOR A TREATY TO MAKE PEACE PERPETUAL BETWEEN THE CHRISTIAN SOVEREIGNS; *to maintain Commerce everlastingly free between the nations, to further strengthen the Sovereign Houses on the Throne, etc.*, Utrecht, 1717, in -8°,¹² and which he revised several times, he claims to have been inspired in his work by the similar project, attributed by Sully to Henry IV, while in fact he would have been nearer truth if he had confessed the real source of his work, that is to say, *Nouveau Cynée* of Émeric Crucé. It would, of course, not be pleasing to the pride of an academician, dealing with the question of pacification, if he should disregard a similar book by one of his compatriots; for, since Crucé's own general ideas form the very foundation of the famous work of the Abbé de Saint-Pierre, there can not be the slightest doubt but that he was acquainted with the work, that he was greatly inspired by it, that he has even denatured it by attempting to draw out and complicate the clear and exact ideas of his predecessor who was not a member of the French Academy, but who in this matter at least had risen superior to his compiler, or to be more exact, to his plagiarist.

The style of the Abbé de Saint-Pierre is heavy and obscure. He re-

¹² The first *Mémoire pour rendre la paix perpétuelle en Europe* was published in Cologne (by J. le Pacifique), 1712. The following year there was published in Utrecht (by A. Shorden) the *Projet pour rendre la Paix perpétuelle en Europe*, in two volumes. The edition of 1729, Rotterdam (D. Bemann), bears this pompous title: *Summary of the Project of Perpetual Peace, invented by King Henry the Great, approved by Queen Elizabeth, by King James her successor, by the republics and by diverse other potentates. Adapted to the present general state of European affairs, demonstrated as in general infinitely advantageous to all men born and to be born, and in particular to all sovereigns and sovereign houses.*

peats himself constantly; and here and there contradicts himself. From the many we give the following as an illustration: "The thing which makes an enterprise glorious (p. 438) is its apparent difficulty and great utility. Now, to most people this enterprise will seem rather difficult, and as for its utility no one will doubt that it might be very great to Christianity, especially to the sovereigns neighboring on Turkey. Its success would, therefore, be glorious. But I look only upon the broad aspect of the plan, and I assume that order prevails among the Christian sovereigns, which is my principal aim. And I have really spoken of this enterprise only in the interest of those who have the misfortune of being in close proximity to that Empire, being convinced that they will all the more eagerly seek the protection of Europe, of the European union; that they will look upon the latter as a distinct step to a universal crusade, incomparably more compact and better organized than any in the past." Just a little before (pp. 297-98) he had said: "If there can be any hope of ever organizing an offensive league to exterminate the Turks, a league sufficiently powerful and enduring, it can be brought about only after the establishment of Christian arbitration." And elsewhere (pp. 442-43) he declares: "So that I am no longer satisfied to say that this treaty (of permanent arbitration) is very feasible, that this establishment is very practicable, that it is quite possible; I now affirm that for reasons that have their being in the very nature of man himself, it is impossible that some day it may not be executed; the only uncertain thing about it is the time when it will be executed, and I dare say that this time is nearer than we think." In 1713 he had said (vol. II, p. 127): "The proposed union does not mean conciliation of the various religions, but peace between nations with different religions," and he was not opposed to the idea that the Turks also should enter into this union; and for very good reasons. "I doubt," he says (p. 178), "that the majority of the Princes of Europe would prefer to shoulder so great an expense in behalf of the Poles, the House of Austria, of Malta and of the Republic of Venice, than to receive the Turk in his present state into the European union."

No; so confused a mind is not of the kind likely to be followed and imitated by a man of the force and reach of Cardinal Alberoni. If not at Piacenza, the cardinal may yet have read at Parma, at Bologna or

at Rome, in his youth even, an anonymous but well-known work of the time, entitled *IDEA PACIS UNIVERSALIS INTER ORBIS CHRISTIANI*, etc. Is there any need of my dwelling on the fact that the cardinal was acquainted with the work of his compatriot Marin Sanudo, published by Bongars, early in the 17th century, and also with that of Vives, the friend of Erasmus and of Fr. de Vitoria? ¹³ There is every reason to believe that a book, composed by the *Propaganda fide* "at the time of the last Polish war, after the death of King Augustus II," was not unknown to him, although it was kept "hidden away like a mystery" until 1733. It is entitled: *CORDIAL REMONSTRANCE AND EXHORTATION TRULY PATERNAL, (how it would be possible, according to the views of the Apostolic See at Rome, among the Christian Powers, not only to remedy those disorders which hitherto have ruined the States and the Peoples, but also to reestablish an indissoluble and enduring friendship, by which the reconciliation of the Catholic Princes, their temporal Felicity, their Power and Dignity could be not only largely increased, etc.*¹⁴ But, if in a general

¹³ See, L. VIVES, *DE EUROPÆ DISSIDIIS, ET BELLO TURCICO*, Basileæ, 1526.

¹⁴ This "exhortation" was published in various languages. The French translation is in the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, fonds Rome, 1733-1736, supplement 17. Its conclusions (p. 9) deserve to be quoted. They are:

"I. It is known * * * that the Rhine separates the Gauls from Germany, and they were formerly separated until the Franks had crossed the Rhine and changed and even subjected the Gauls to their domination; this gave rise to those divisions which brought on discord upon discord, pretensions upon pretensions, one war after another, and it would be well, if for the purpose of reestablishing permanent friendship, each kingdom should be confined to its ancient boundaries and kept within them.

"II. The owners of these kingdoms must renounce, by solemn oath, in their own behalf and in behalf of their successors and heirs without exception, to all future pretension to this or that country, province or localities, to every other pretension and to any misunderstanding that might exist among them.

"III. * * * for the great advantages which the courts of France and Spain derive from the division, they shall, with all their forces, assist the Ducal House of Austria both against the sworn enemy of the Christian name and against the adversaries of the church and the renegades who have caused it such great harm in the wars of Italy (p. 13)."

The various countries of Europe are distributed among the different princely families. The Archducal House of Austria, aided by Russia and the other countries, must drive the Turks out of Europe, "recover the holy land, retake all the holy places and there enthrone the House of Lorraine" * * * (p. 15). Any manner of ruses are permitted against the Protestants. The German Empire by right of succession

way, he agrees with the ideas expounded therein, he departs therefrom, as can be easily shown, upon certain matters of the greatest importance.

Alberoni may have found the necessary encouragement in favor of his project in the annals of the Holy See. Numerous also are similar ideas we find in the collections of the manuscripts which have been preserved in the families of high Roman prelates, from the time the Turks appeared in Europe. And besides, was not the league, concluded in 1571, which put forever an end to the westward progress of Islamism, the work of a single man, Pope Pius V?

But, at that time, still other minds were busily occupied with these ideas. And although neither the *National Community* nor the *Society of Nations* had made much headway in the minds of the people in spite of the *Civitas gentium maxima* of Suarez, yet the circle of Christianity had expanded; it included again the Protestant peoples, and extended as well over the orthodox Oriental Church. As early as 1717, we find the confirmation of these new ideas in a dispatch from Bentivoglio, the Papal nuncio at Paris; it was published by Father Pierling, in his masterly work: *LA RUSSIE ET LE SAINT-SIÈGE* (vol. IV, pp. 427-428).

Among the thinkers, who in the field of these ideas may have exercised an influence upon Alberoni, we may point to W. Penn and his *Essay on the Present and future Peace of Europe* (1693), and to Leibnitz who considers the subjection of the Turks as the necessary condition for the general pacification of Europe. We may also add, that Cardinal Mazarin, the compatriot of Alberoni, was also in favor of pacifism, if we are to judge by the consideration he gave to a system of this kind which had been submitted to him by the mathematician and astronomer,

must revert to the Archduke of Austria and his successors. It is necessary "above all to abolish the Diet of Ratisbon, which for the past century has governed jointly with the Emperor and which now dares to oppose him and to impose its laws upon him" etc.

As is seen, Droysen [*HISTORISCHER BEITRAG ZU DER LEHRE VON DEN CONGRESSEN* in the *Monatsberichte der Kgl. preus. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* of the year 1869, pp. 651-675] is mistaken when he declares that this manuscript has not been published. We are not at all surprised to find that this treaty has been qualified as a "rather foolish piece of work," and its authors as "idle, rebellious and personal enemies of the court of Rome" (!) by King William I of Prussia and by his ministers, since it was directed against the Protestants. Manteufel is also mistaken in believing that it was inspired by the writings of the Abbé de Saint-Pierre.

Ismaël Bouillau.¹⁵ Grotius, on the other hand, complains that de Riche-lieu hated him simply because he was a friend of peace. Alberoni seems, moreover, to have lived up to the maxim, in accordance with which "we may learn lessons, but rarely find models in contemporary as well as in historical facts," which Napoleon expressed only a century later. On the other hand, it is impossible that with his wide and thorough education, the cardinal should not have known the rôle which international arbitration had played and the services it had rendered in the preceding centuries. And is it not a fact that in former times, questions that no one in our day would think of bringing within such jurisdiction were submitted to the decision of arbiters? There are numerous instances. At all times, within the history of diplomacy, even in the Middle Ages, we encounter arbitration treaties; and we know that the free cities and the little German and Italian principalities, and the Swiss cantons as well, had a large share in developing this custom. But we are less well informed regarding the important place which international arbitration occupied in the Scandinavian and in all the Slav countries. And Cardinal Alberoni was bringing nothing new to those countries when he proposed his Perpetual Diet at Ratisbon; he did nothing but adapt to the conditions as he saw them an institution which others before him had thought of.¹⁶

¹⁵ In regard to this movement, see my work *Deux Précurseurs français du Pacifisme et de l'Arbitrage International*, in *Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*, vol. XXV, 1911, pp. 23-78; the various studies of E. NYS, as well as W. SCHÜKING, *Die Organisation der Welt*, Leipzig, 1909; F. LAGORGETTE, *le Rôle de la Guerre*, etc., Paris, 1906; S. M. MELAMED, *Théorie, Ursprung und Geschichte der Friedensidee*, Stuttgart, 1909. In regard to the Abbé de Saint-Pierre, see: E. GOUY, *Étude sur la vie et les écrits de l'abbé de Saint-Pierre*, 1858; S. SIÉGLER-PASCAL, *les Projets de l'abbé de Saint-Pierre*, 1900; and especially: F. DROUET, *l'Abbé de Saint-Pierre, l'homme et l'œuvre*, 1912; W. PENN, *an Essay towards the present and future Peace of Europe*, Washington (The American Peace Society), 1912; F. P. CONTUZZI, *La questione d'Oriente dinanzi al Diritto Internazionale ed alla Diplomazia europea*, Macerata, 1882. In addition: E. DE RUGGIERO, *l'Arbitrato Pubblico in relazione col Privato presso i Romani*, Rome, 1893; G. VELIO BALLERINI, *Il Problema della Pace Perpetua*, etc., Turin, 1885; C. PHILLIPSON, *The International Law and Custom of ancient Greece and Rome*, two vols., London, 1911.

¹⁶ See: A. PILLET, *La Cause de la Paix et les deux Conférences de la Haye*, Paris, 1908; M. TAUBE, *Principi Mira i Prava v mezdunarodnihh stolknoveniah szednjihh vjekov* (vol. II of his *Histoire des origines du Droit International moderne*, in Russian), Harkov, 1899; M. NOVACOVITCH, *Les Compromis et les Arbitrages Internationaux du*

IV

Before yielding the platform to Cardinal Alberoni himself for the exposition of his project, we will add, that the general European situation may at that time have seemed to him propitious, at least for the discussion of his ideas. The Austrian Pragmatic Sanction had been recognized by France. The rivalries between the Habsburg and Bourbon Houses, which for centuries had dominated the policy of Europe, were thereby appeased. Writing to Sinzendorff about this time, Cardinal de Fleury expressed himself in regard to the pacification of Europe. Besides, these ideas of the Prime Minister of France had been known as early as the first session of the Soissons Congress, that is to say, January 14, 1728. On her part, Russia was in perfect accord with these two great Powers, and it might not have seemed altogether absurd that a prince of the Church should attempt to suggest an international organization. In laying the project before his readers, the English translator refers to it as a "project intended for the welfare of Christianity which could only have been conceived by him who seems capable of governing the world"; this judgment is all the more striking because the policy of the cardinal, as Prime Minister of Spain, was combatted with especial energy by the English.

1st.—It is cruel, the cardinal says in the introduction to his project, to see Christian Princes, so jealous of their honor and so anxious to avenge even the suspicion of an injury; so easily roused against each other on account of a trivial incident, and yet remain insensible in the presence of the most outrageous affronts, violations, ravages and depredations of the infidels of Barbary and of Morocco. These brigands have repeatedly seized Spanish or Portuguese vessels, ravaged and plundered the shores of these countries, and carried away their subjects into slavery, and they have not been punished! Still these countries have waged long wars for some slight offense committed against the one or the other of their ministers! Other Princes and states condescend to pay tribute

XII^e au XV^e siècle (thesis) Paris, 1905; VESNITCH, *Le Droit International dans les rapports des Slaves Méridionaux au Moyen-Age*, in *Revue de Droit International et de Législ. Comparée*, 1896; and also the well known works of KOMAROVSKY, MÉRIGNHAC, etc.

and to send presents to these pirates to protect their subjects against these evils. In the judgment of the public, such conduct is not compatible with the dignity of free and independent Princes.

The author defends his project against the suspicion it may rouse on account of its religious nature, and declares that the opportuneness for this enterprise has never been so favorable. It seems that Heaven demands the overthrow of the Turkish Empire by a concurrence of circumstances such as have not been seen since the Mahometan doctrine first appeared in the world. To his mind, the conquest of the Turkish Empire is so easy at that time that nothing is wanting for its realization, except a close and disinterested union of the Christian Powers. If they were to let the excellent opportunity go by, posterity will justly accuse them of inexcusable remissness. And even if the Christian Princes and governments should escape censure in this world, they will have to give a formidable accounting of themselves before a tribunal which never errs.

Another indication of the divine will in the direction of this project seems to reveal itself in the peace and tranquillity of the Christian world; we have today large armies on foot, accustomed to the strenuous life and to the fatigues of war, and capable of greater feats. * * * The history of the Crusades likewise speaks in favor of this enterprise. In that history we behold Godfrey of Bouillon conquering Mesopotamia and Syria as well as a large part of Asia Minor within the space of three years and with less than two hundred thousand men; did not he and his successors rule at Jerusalem for almost a century? The Christians in Turkey will, of course, cooperate with great enthusiasm in this work, since in its success they will find release from Turkish slavery.¹⁷ This plan will also be favored by the uncertain and disordered state of the

¹⁷ One century before Cardinal Alberoni wrote his Project, a French consul who was passing through Belgrade wrote in a letter, dated January 25, 1624: "Since I came to Belgrade, I have of a sudden discovered that a League has been organized in Christianity to march against the Turkish State this coming Spring; I found letters written in symbols on the table of my host Ragnosky who plots the affair here * * * from which I learn that the Pope, the Emperor, the King of Spain, the Grand-Duke and Mr. de Nevers are in the enterprise * * * and that all Servia and Bosnia are to rise as soon as the League appears." See, A. BOPPE, *Journal et Correspondance de Gedoyen "Le Turc" Consul de France à Alep*, Paris, 1909, p. 47.

infidels, especially in Constantinople, where the passions of the people for a revolution are roused.

‘My project,’ so reads the text of the author, “is the result of long and sustained labor, and I may say without presumption * * * that it is built on the glory of God only, for it is inspired by the fervent desire to see the banner of Jesus Christ wave in the world of the infidels.” To form such a project and to map out a plan in order to perpetuate peace in Christianity, may appear to many people a task that can not be realized; and because, of course, the difficulties must be very serious, he asks indulgence for the errors inherent in every grand design. To those of a hesitating nature who doubt whether the war against the infidels proposed by the project is justified, he answers that it suffices to state that the Turks do not possess a single foot of ground in the world but was acquired through sacrilege, imposture, violence, treason or oppression. And to reinforce this affirmation, he relates the history of the advent of the Turks in Europe as well as their conduct toward their neighbors and co-religionists, the Persians. “To conclude: there is no need to try to evade the reasons for undertaking a war against them, since the Christians have the right to recover what the infidels usurped in a way contrary to the rights of humanity, and because the Sultan on his coming to the throne takes the solemn vow to destroy Christianity.” As we see, this is the same viewpoint which we have already met in P. Dubois, in G. Podebrad and in a number of Alberoni’s predecessors. In our own time, his compatriot, F. P. Contuzzi, writes that Turkey in Europe is “a paradox, an anomaly, an anachronism” and that the question is not one of reforming her, but rather of taking her name off the list of European states!

2. Up to his time, Christian Princes have been killing each other, instead of forming into union against the infidels. And this was even true during the Crusades, when “all regard for religion disappeared when it came into conflict with political pretensions; again there awakened the spirit of dispute and discord, thwarting all praiseworthy projects and sometimes rousing the Princes against each other to such a degree of madness that soon they fell prey to the common enemy. Would to God that I might draw a veil over those melancholy times.”

Against accusations of different kinds, for instance, that he had con

ceived this plan only in order to propagate the religion he professes, he declares in the most solemn manner that he does not follow an exclusively Catholic policy, since he places the interests of Catholic states on a footing of equality with the Protestant states. This equality is the first condition for the success of the project. The Turkish possessions are vast. He is far from believing that this extent of territory is a barrier against the proposed enterprise; he is on the contrary convinced, that nothing can be more helpful to further it, and in support of this assertion he adds: "The same cause has paved the way to the ruin of all the great empires in the world, especially to that of the Romans and of the Saracens." He makes reservations regarding the bravery of the Turkish army; the last war has besides destroyed this reputation "their large number has frequently had no other effect except to spread confusion and disorder in their ranks" and to lead them to defeat.¹⁸

The military enterprise must be carefully prepared.

3. The territorial partition must be agreed upon beforehand.

4. He draws up a plan of campaign worthy of the chief of the general staff of an army of that time, and gives evidence of extraordinary information regarding localities and strategic positions both on land and on sea. This information had been furnished him by an old soldier (Bernier) whom he had met in the train of the Duke de Vendôme and for whose ability he had the greatest admiration. He tells us "in 1730, I sent this man to reconnoiter all the important cities and all Turkish fortresses in Asia and in Africa, where he passed for a Mussulman and continued his investigations during three years." This entire portion of the project is commended to the attention of military historians. We can not, however, pass over in silence a very interesting observation of a political character. Alberoni insists that during the campaign no new taxes should be laid upon the conquered lands; more than that, no changes must be made in the fiscal policy applied to the Christians in Turkey; such action might cause them to wish that the Turkish

¹⁸ Some of these observations we meet in the writings of our contemporaries. Read for instance the following passages taken from the proclamation of General Camerana of June 16, 1912, to the Arabs: "The Italian victories follow one another. *This is a proof that God is forsaking the Turks.* * * * *Nothing on earth happens but according to the will of God.* Would the Italians be victorious, if it were not by the will of God?"

administration had not been changed, for it was a maxim with the latter never to make any changes in the system of taxation.

V

Defending himself against various accusations made against him to which we have already referred, the cardinal writes: "I shall have little difficulty in clearing myself from the imputation of bigotry. And I have reason to believe, that people know rather well that I am not versed in the science of casuistry and controversy. I have always felt that no other means should be resorted to to reconcile the varying views of Christians than those recommended by the scriptures, that is to say, gentleness, tolerance, godliness and purity of morals. And I am certain that the ministers of Protestant Powers who were accredited to the court of Spain during my connection with the government will do me the justice to certify that they have never known me possessed of any other sentiments. I was moreover so entirely opposed to persecution, that I urged the king repeatedly to grant freedom of conscience in his lands; and this was not all: I even dared to propose a plan for reducing the powers of the Inquisition, a fact which, I am sure, had not a little to do with my dismissal. I was so free from ultra-religious sentiments that during the last war in Hungary my adversaries accused me of favoring the Turks * * * " In the project which he presents to his contemporaries, the first thing to do, or "the first measure to take," is to assemble a Congress at Ratisbon, to which the Powers are to be invited in the name of His Imperial Majesty. A very characteristic point to be noted here, which is all the more striking because written by a prince of the Catholic Church, is the fact that this initiative is not only not entrusted to the Pope, but that the latter is left altogether out of the project, which does not even refer to the Pontifical State. This is again the more striking because his contemporary, the great philosopher Leibnitz, associated the Emperor and the Pope in this enterprise. Alberoni moreover insists upon the necessity of determining in this preliminary assembly the portions that are to be distributed among the Powers taking part in it, believing that such an arrangement is the first condition, on the one hand, for the success of the enterprise, and

on the other, for the pacific organization of Christian Europe. In this Congress, the following preliminary dispositions were to be decided:

(1) The religious question within the Empire of Constantinople must be settled on the basis of the Peace of Westphalia, without prejudice to the rights, to the doctrine or to the rules of the Greek, Copt or Armenian Churches;

(2) A general customs tariff, without distinction or special privileges in favor of any nation, shall be agreed upon for all the Christian Powers;

(3) No prince nor any state shall claim sovereignty over the Archipelago; this will greatly contribute to the development of commerce and prevent disputes between merchant flags;

(4) The fortifications along the Dardanelles must be demolished;

(5) The *dominium maris* of the Emperors of Constantinople shall be limited to the straits of Gallipoli.

It is only in the interest of general peace that he attempts to limit the powers and sway of the Emperors of Constantinople. "The world has many reasons to complain of the excessive power of certain princes, since oftentimes this power has been employed only for the purpose of furthering their inordinate ambition and shameful purposes. It is, therefore, prudent to foresee all possible measures, in order to forestall in every prince an excess of power which might render him dangerous to his neighbors. It is really to be hoped," he continues, "that our plan of a Perpetual Diet for insuring the tranquillity of Christianity will produce the desired result. But it is difficult to guard sufficiently against future events: there is a strange rotation in the course of sublunary affairs. Nothing is more variable than political systems; do not princes who, for many years, have been in complete discord rush into each other's arms in consequence of some new influences and speculations, and do not these same princes congratulate each other upon things which in other days had been the source of much bloodshed? It is not impossible, therefore, that the new Emperor or his successors may not at a given moment have views that are not in harmony with the general interest of Europe. This power can, therefore, not be curtailed too much." The Perpetual Diet of the Christian Powers must be clothed with the authority to settle amicably all disputes and controversies. "If such a tribunal had already been established in Christianity, we

should not have seen Europe so frequently harassed by unreasonable and unjustified wars.”

Finally, we come to the quintessence of his reflections and propositions:

I. In future there shall be a Perpetual Diet, composed of the ministers or deputies of all Christian Powers. It shall meet at Ratisbon under the rules and forms of procedure actually in use in the Germanic Diet.¹⁹

II. All controversies that might arise between the Princes or Christian States on account of religion, succession, marriage or for any other reason or pretext whatever shall be settled by the number of votes required by the constitution of the Empire. These decisions shall be rendered within the period of one year, reckoned from the day on which the affair is submitted to the Diet.

III. In case one of these Powers in litigation should refuse to submit to the decisions of the Diet, which must be notified in authentic form within a period of six months, such Power shall be held to be a disturber of public tranquillity, and the Diet shall proceed against it by military execution until it submits to its decisions and makes compensation for all war damages and expenditures incurred for this purpose. The contingent to be furnished by each Prince or State in such an event shall be regulated on the basis established for the Empire.

Alberoni wisely adds: “Time alone will show what fate awaits my intentions and wishes. But any intelligent man will be able to realize the difficulties I had to overcome in order to give consistent form to such a plan.”

In limiting the Diet to Europe or to the Christian world, Alberoni

¹⁹ The Diet of Ratisbon was divided into three Colleges: the College of the Electors, consisting of the nine sovereigns, to whom belonged the right to fill the vacancy on the Imperial throne; the College of the Princes, of a membership not less than one hundred; and the College of the Free Cities, composed of fifty-one deputies. The voting took place in the order in which the three Colleges are here given, so that the two princely Colleges decided all resolutions by themselves. DUC DE BROGLIE, *Frédéric II et Marie Thérèse*, Paris, 1883, I, p. 254. — The place of the first session of Penn's Parliament (*Imperial Dyet* or *State of Europe*) should be central, as much as is possible, afterwards as they agree. Penn finds the model for this institution in the States-General of the Netherlands.

proved himself thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the great ideas of his time.

On the other hand, peace and fraternity constitute the foundation of the Christian religion, born of the Roman soil when in the eyes of the civilized world Rome had become a universal state. Therefore, if Alberoni seeks the model for his organization and for his pacification of Europe in the constitution of the Holy Empire, this means only the adaptation of the principles of Roman law to the Germanic genius. Roman peace, Christian peace, Germanic peace, "Alberonian" peace, all these are only the successive links in the evolution of the same idea. And if "utopia is only the ideal seen in the distance," we may take comfort because, while the distance hitherto covered has been long and rugged, the dawn espied by so many keen-eyed minds has become brighter already, much brighter than it was a few centuries ago. The son of the Piacenza gardener, it will be found, has contributed to this progress. And while there remain always traces of even the slightest calumny, yet, the great judge time has accomplished his work also: little blemishes disappear, and the things of real worth are left. But a few years after the death of Alberoni, Ange Godard in his turn writes a *PROJET DE PACIFICATION GÉNÉRALE* (Amsterdam, 1757), solely designed for the peace of Europe and in favor of the establishment of the universal republic, for the purpose of the conservation of mankind, on whose behalf he already bespeaks "a public international law." Like a ray of the sun, it may be obscured, denied, outraged; but in the end it reappears and dispenses justice to all sides, even as the sun's ray sheds light upon life.

In vain did Toulouse from Pierre Dubois, and Venice from Crucé, and Berne from the Prince de Hesse-Rheinfels, and Rome from Leibnitz, and Ratisbon from Alberoni await the organization of an international arbitration tribunal. But on a glorious morning it awoke at The Hague. It is not yet the ideal tribunal. But it looks very much like it. Real progress is an evolutionary process of a slow but sure growth. The contribution which Cardinal Alberoni has made to the construction of that institution is neither very considerable, nor very remarkable. It bears only the marks of the tools which fashioned it and the seal of its author. I thought, however, that it was worthy of presentation to the minds

of those who are following with interest the steep path humanity is engaged in ascending, in the effort to do away with brutal force and to establish the reign of Law and Justice.²⁰

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²⁰ While this article is going to press, the partition of Turkey is being effected, at least in regard to her European and African provinces. It is not the Western Powers which are realizing this idea of Alberoni; rather, it is the vital forces of the Balkan peoples, subjugated five centuries ago by the Asiatic invasion, which are achieving this superb work, by taking up again, as it were, the thread of their development at the very place where it was severed at the end of the 14th century, after the memorable battle of Cossova. We shall not, however, blame our author because he did not foresee that in future the peoples and their aspirations would replace the intrigues of the Cabinets. This mistake in judgment was not at all personal to himself; it was general and was relegated to the historical archives only by the declaration of independence of the United States of America and by the consequences of the great French Revolution.